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An HPSG Account of Nonfinite Verbal Complements in Latin

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Chapter 7

Final Remarks

7.1 Resumee

In this thesis, we studied verbal complementation in Latin thoroughly, focusing on infinitival constructions. Traditional grammarians concentrated on morphology alone, and so they referred to structures consisting of an NP_{acc} and a VP_{inf} as *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* (AcI). But as we saw, there are two very different structures, both consisting of an NP_{acc} and a VP_{inf} which show different syntactic behaviour. In order to keep them apart, we proposed to call these structures A+I and AcI, following Bolkestein (1979). Infinitival constructions are used in parallel with participle constructions. A structure consisting morphologically of an NP_{acc} and a VP_{part} was traditionally referred to, due to its morphology, as *Accusativus cum Participio* (AcP). However, a syntactical analysis of these constructions also shows that instead of one structure we have two. Analogously to our name-giving chosen for infinitival constructions, we proposed to call these structures A+P and AcP.

Our thesis started with a discussion of the literature written on the Latin AcI (and A+I). Afterwards we introduced Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG), the grammar which sets the theoretical framework in which we are working. Chapter 4, 5, and 6 focus on our own research. The results are summarized below.

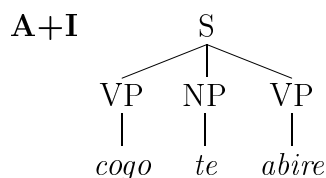
7.1.1 Chapter 4: The Two Structures A+I and AcI

Both structures consist of an NP_{acc} and a VP_{inf}.

7.1.1.1 The A+I

- The A+I is found with object-control verbs.

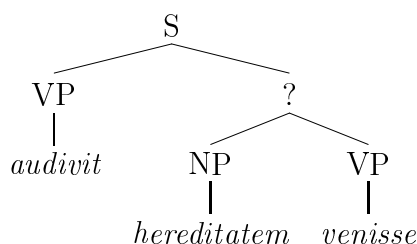
- These verbs are transitive.
- The A+I consists of two constituents. One constituent is the NP_{acc} and the other one is the VP_{inf}.
- A semantic restriction is exercised on both of these two constituents.
- The A+I has one passive, the personal passive.
- In passive, the accusative object becomes the subject.
- A+I verbs have no impersonal passive.
- The figure below illustrates the tree structure of the A+I:



7.1.1.2 The AcI

As our investigation focussed on syntactic behaviour, it became clear very fast that there are two different structures. The analysis of the A+I turned out to be relatively simple. But the category of the AcI was not as easy to determine:

AcI, preliminary version

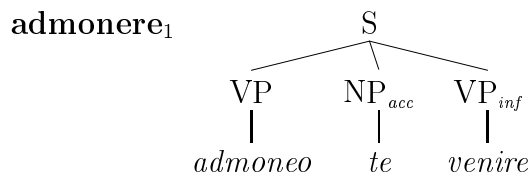


Previous analyses were very much focussed on Raising. Indeed, the whole discussion led in the literature between 1977 and 1983 was primarily about the issue whether Raising to Object existed in Latin or not, i.e. whether the *true* AcI should be analysed in terms of Raising to Object. We came up with three important counter-arguments:

- **the verb *admonere***
The verb *admonere* constructs both as an A+I as well as an AcI-verb. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate the differences:

- (1) *admoneo te venire.*
 I-warn you(acc) to-come.
 ‘I warn you to come.’
- (2) *tu admoneris venire.*
 you(nom) are-warned to-come.
 ‘You are warned to come.’

In example (1), *admonere* is an A+I-verb, subcategorizing for an accusative object and an infinitival verb phrase. (1a) is the active sentence, and (1b) is its passive counterpart. The NP_{acc} *te* gets “promoted” to the position of nominative subject *tu*. For purposes of demonstration, the tree structure of (1a) is given below:



- (2a) *admoneo te eum venire.*
 I-awarn you(acc) him to-come.
 ‘I warn you that he is coming.’
- (2b) *tu admoneris eum venire.*
 you(nom) are-warned him to-come.
 ‘You are warned that he is coming.’
- (2c) **admonetur te eum venire.*
 is-warned you(acc) him to-come.
 *‘It is warned you that he is coming.’

In (2), *admonere* subcategorizes for both an NP_{acc} (*te*) and an AcI-construction (*eum venire*). There is only one passive counterpart for (2a) which is given in (2b). Note that (2c) is ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of (2c) demonstrates that the AcI *eum venire* is not a direct object of the matrix verb *admoneo* in (2a). With *admonere*, the AcI must therefore have a different status than that of a direct object. Below, the tree structure for *admonere* in (2a) is given:

- **Impersonal “AcI’s”**

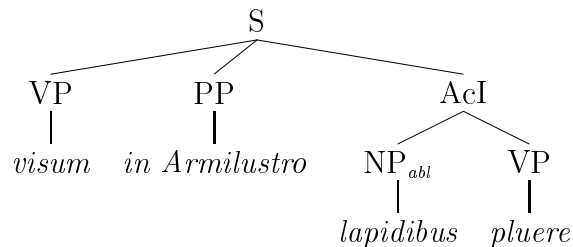
There are impersonal verbs in Latin which are only realized in the third person singular. These verbs are necessarily subjectless. For example, most verbs denoting the activities of natural phenomena are impersonal, such as: *pluit* ‘it rains’, *ningit* ‘it snows’, *tonat* ‘it thunders’. If the AcI were correctly analysed in terms of Raising to Object, then (5) could not be grammatical:

- (5) Inde iterum novendiale instauratum quod in
 then again nine-days-rite was-repeated because in
 Armilustro lapidibus visum pluere.
 Armilustrum stones(abl) was-seen to-rain
 ‘Then again the nine days of rites were repeated, because in the
 Armilustrum a rain of stones was seen.’

Liv., 27, 37, 4

The tree below illustrates the structure of (5):

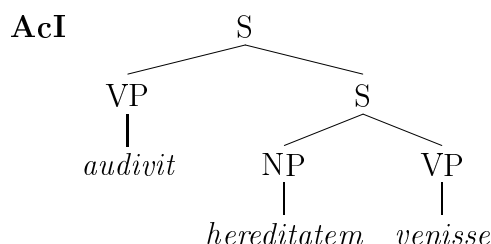
“AcI” sans accusative



In (5), the impersonal matrix verb *visum* (*est*) governs an AcI with an impersonal VP_{inf}. As *pluere* is an impersonal verb, this rules out the analysis in terms of Raising to Object, as there is no NP to control the subjectless VP_{inf} *pluere*. We note that this implies that the accusative in the *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* is actually not required. The proper description of the subcategorization requirement is just that the clause be infinitival.

- **Infinitival Clause as Conclusion**

The items listed above prove that the AcI cannot be analysed in terms of Raising to Object. Instead, it has to be analysed as an infinitival clause subcategorized for by the matrix verb:



A grammatical rule assigns accusative case to subjects of AcI-clauses. Let us summarize briefly the characteristics of AcI-verbs:

- AcI-verbs take an infinitival clause as their oblique complement.
- They are intransitive.
- There need be no accusative NP in the AcI.
- No semantic restriction is exercised on this one clausal complement.
- Passive is impersonal: the matrix verb forms a third person singular passive, and the AcI-clause is left unaffected.
- The *verba sentiendi et dicendi*, a subset of AcI-verbs, allow additionally personal passive. Personal passive is derived via Raising to Subject.
- The *verba sentiendi* are structurally ambiguous. If the accusative NP designates an object of immediate perception the matrix verb behaves as an A+I-verb. In case there is no immediate perception we have an AcI-structure allowing for two different passives.

7.1.2 Chapter 5: The Two Structures A+P and AcP

Both structures underlying the AcP consist of an NP_{acc} and a VP_{part}. Therefore no differentiation between the two structures was made by the traditional grammarians. Pinkster (1984) is the first syntactician who notices that there are differences between the structures formerly subsumed under the name of AcP. His observations inspired us to delve more deeply into these structures.

7.1.2.1 The A+P

A+P-verbs are found with transitive *verba sentiendi*. The A+P-construction alternates with the A+I-construction. In both cases, we have direct perception of the subject. However, the A+P is given preference if a more vivid and physical experience on part of the subject is expressed. Like the A+I,

the A+P consists of two constituents. These are the NP_{acc} and the VP_{part}. A semantic restriction is exercised on both of these constituents. (6) is an example of an A+P-construction:

- (6) video puerum currentem.
 I-see boy(acc) running(acc).
 ‘I see the boy running.’

7.1.2.2 The AcP

The AcP is interpreted as a construction parallel to that of the AcI, however, much less frequent in use. It is found with some intransitive *verba sentiendi*. The AcP consists of one constituent which is a clause, expanded by a grammatical rule that assigns accusative case to the clausal subject. No semantic restriction is exercised on this one constituent. (7) is an example of an AcP-construction:

- (7) idque Socratem audio dicentem
 so Socrates(acc) I-hear saying(acc)
 ‘So I hear Socrates saying’

7.1.2.3 NP_{acc} and VP_{part} but No A+P/ AcP

Note that we do not postulate an AcP or A+P construction when we have a matrix verb that is neither a *verbum sentiendi* nor a *verbum dicendi*, found nevertheless with an NP_{acc} and a VP_{part}. An example is given in (8):

- (8) offendi eum sedentem in exedra et cum C.Velleio
 I-have-come-upon him sitting(acc) in hall and with C.Velleio
 senatore disputantem
 senator arguing(acc)
 ‘I came across him sitting in the hall and arguing with senator C.Velleius.’

Cic., N.D., 1, 15

In (8), the matrix verb *offendere* is neither a *verbum sentiendi* nor a *verbum dicendi*. The participle *sedentem* cannot be replaced by an infinitive. It fulfills the function of a predicative here, modifying the pronoun *eum*.

7.1.3 Chapter 6: The Reflexive in A+I- and AcI-constructions

The relationship between anaphor and antecedent can give us important evidence of the structure of a clause. Our analysis done in chapter 4 and

5 turned out that the AcI and the AcP are clauses whilst the A+I and the A+P are not. As we try to find out as much as possible about the differences in the syntactic structure of verbal complements in Latin, we focused on the distribution of the reflexive personal pronoun in A+I and AcI in this chapter. The data are too scarce to include the AcP and A+P in the investigation.

7.1.3.1 Theoretical Expectations

We do not expect A+I and AcI to differ with respect to the distribution of reflexives or with respect to the choice of possible antecedents. With the A+I, we expect to find the reflexive in various positions. The antecedent should be the nominative subject of the matrix verb. If the VP_{inf} is transitive, we expect to find the reflexive also as the accusative object of the VP_{inf} , taking the controller as its antecedent.

With the AcI, we expect to find the reflexive in the position of accusative subject or object, dative object or PP. The antecedent of a reflexive accusative subject should be the nominative subject of the higher clause, according to the HPSG binding theory. The antecedent of a reflexive object or PP should be the non-reflexive accusative subject of the AcI-clause.

7.1.3.2 The Data Actually Found

Concerning the distribution of the reflexive pronoun in AcI- and A+I- constructions, we note surprising differences. With the A+I, there is a surprising tendency to avoid use of the reflexive pronoun. The reflexive is **never** found in the position of controller of an active VP_{inf} . It can be the accusative subject of the verbal infinitive only if that VP_{inf} is passive. With an active VP_{inf} , the reflexive is found only in the position of accusative object of the transitive VP_{inf} . In this position, there are two antecedents possible: the expected accusative subject of the VP_{inf} , and the nominative subject of the matrix verb.

In the AcI, the reflexive is used very frequently. We find it in all expected positions. The antecedent can be either local or found in a higher clause. The local antecedent is always the accusative subject of the AcI-clause. We expected to find cross-clausal or long-distance reflexivity only with the reflexive in the position of accusative subject of the AcI. However, we also encounter long-distance reflexivity with reflexives taking the position of NP_{dat} or PP. Note that if the reflexive is the accusative object of an AcI, it is always locally bound. Possible antecedents in long-distance reflexivity can be nominative subjects. But also genitive or dative complements of impersonal constructions can act as antecedents. With *verba sentiendi* the antecedent can also

be a PP. The antecedent does not even need to be an argument, as we also found cases in which the genitive specifier of a subject acts as antecedent of a cross-clausally bound reflexive. This makes it clear that we have to revise our binding theory thoroughly.

7.1.3.3 Two Anaphoric Pronouns

The behaviour of the Latin reflexive pronoun was already known to the traditional grammarians. They differentiated between direct and indirect reflexivity. Direct reflexives are bound within the clause. The binding mechanism is syntactically motivated. Indirect reflexives are cross-clausally bound. The antecedent is not syntactically determined, but rather selected for semantic and contextual reasons.

Modern work done on the study of the reflexive pronoun by classical scholars¹ suggests that not only the binding mechanisms are different in direct and indirect reflexivity, but that there are also differences in meaning. Only the syntactically bound anaphor is a real reflexive pronoun. If used with *verba sentiendi et dicendi*, the cross-clausally bound anaphor is constrained by logophoric conditions.

7.1.3.4 Approach to a New Binding Theory for Latin

We follow the ideas brought up by Fruyt and Sznajder, coming to the conclusion that there are two anaphoric pronouns in Latin which are morphologically identical. For the syntactically bound reflexive pronoun we have to revise the HPSG binding theory slightly, so that it can also cope with the A+I-cases in which the anaphor is the accusative object of the VP_{inf} bound by the nominative subject of the matrix verb.

The cross-clausally bound anaphor has logophoric conditions if the matrix verb is a *verbum sentiendi et dicendi*. The antecedent is always the source of the utterance, regardless of its syntactical status. With impersonal constructions, binding criteria are weaker. The antecedent has to be semantically [+animate].²

We only encounter the cross-clausally bound anaphor with the AcI, but never with the A+I. This gives us further evidence for the fact that A+I and AcI are indeed two very different structures.

¹Fruyt (1987), Sznajder (1994)

²Note that we understand semantically [+animate] here in a broad sense, thus allowing also for antecedents like *res publica*, ‘republic’, or *civitas* ‘society’.

7.2 Contribution of this Thesis

This thesis brings further arguments for a clear-cut differentiation between the two structures A+I and AcI. There is no further doubt that the two structures have to be kept apart. Arguments already developed by Bolkestein were tested and confirmed within a formal grammatical framework.

We came up with further arguments speaking in favour of an analysis of the AcI in sentential terms: the whole AcI, not just the VP_{inf} can be negated, and the AcI can be modified by sentential adverbs. We were the first to remark that there are impersonal AcIs, different from verbal infinitives, which cannot have an accusative subject. So there need be no accusative NP, not even tacitly, in the AcI. Impersonal verbs also construct as AcI's which can be subcategorized for by impersonal matrix verbs. This argument which is novel speaks definitely against an analysis of the AcI in terms of Raising to Object.

We are also the first to differentiate between the two structures AcP and A+P. We developed a syntactic and a semantic test enabling us to determine whether a structure morphologically consisting of an NP_{acc} and a VP_{part} is of type A+P, of type AcP or none of both. We recognized the close syntactic and semantic similarity between A+P and A+I on the one hand and between AcP and AcI on the other.

Another important contribution this thesis makes is found in chapter 6. We are the first to investigate the distribution of the reflexive personal pronoun in A+I and AcI. Sections 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7 represent pioneer work. We made predictions about the distribution of the reflexive pronoun in both structures which were heavily contradicted by the empirical results. The differences in the distribution of reflexives in A+I and AcI give further evidence for the fact that we have two different structures. Binding in Latin is syntactically and semantically/ contextually motivated. In an attempt to formalize our results, we concluded that there are two morphologically identical anaphoric pronouns in Latin: a reflexive pronoun which is syntactically bound and a logophoric pronoun which needs a totally non-syntactic binding theory.

7.3 Future Prospects

Our work focusses on syntax. It has become clear in chapter 5 that in order to cope with the binding phenomena we have to take other aspects besides syntax also into account: SEMANTICS and CONTEXT. In order to fully explain the surprising data, we probably need a binding theory which is

not restricted to the analysis of A+I and AcI alone. Long-distance binding also occurs between finite clauses in Latin. It would be very interesting to compare AcI-binding with binding in *ut*-clauses. Another clause that could be extremely helpful to study is the *ablativus absolutus*-construction, consisting of an ablative subject NP and an ablative VP which is a past participle. As the anaphoric pronoun has no nominative form, it cannot appear as the subject of a finite clause. We found *se* as the subject of the AcI-clause, because in the AcI, the subject takes accusative case. So we can also expect to find *se* as the ablative subject of an *ablativus absolutus*-construction. Will there be parallels between the two clauses, concerning distribution and behaviour of anaphoric pronouns?

Latin disposes of a reflexive personal pronoun and a reflexive possessive pronoun. Binding of the possessive pronoun also has to be formalized theoretically. The possessive pronoun brings up even more aspects. Look at (9):

- (9) Titum filium miserat, ut suo loco
 Titus(acc) son(acc) he-had-sent, that own(abl) place(abl)
 memorabimus.
 we-will-remember.
 ‘He had sent his son Titus, which we will remember at the appropriate place.’

Tac., Hist., 1, 10, 6

We understand the reflexive *suo* to refer to the content of the previous clause just offered to the reader by the author. This takes the notion of logophoricity we encountered in cross-clausally bound anaphors with *verba sentiendi et dicendi* even one step further. The anaphor does not refer to a speaker within the discourse, but in (9) it refers to a part of the whole text which is a drastic shift in perspective: a subtext functions as an antecedent to the reflexive pronoun.

7.4 Working with Electronically Available Corpora

The corpus used in this dissertation is the **Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina** (BTL). In the introduction we documented how the corpus was used. The BTL has advantages and disadvantages. The biggest advantage is its complexity. This corpus is by far the largest corpus on Latin available as it contains all Latin writings we still have from a period of eight centuries. But

the BTL also has disadvantages. It is only possible to work with this corpus by means of the search routine the CD-ROM offers. There is no possibility to download the corpus as a whole and to work with the data using other tools. The documentation of how the CD-ROM has to be used made it clear that this way of working is far from ideal: it is time-consuming and the source of many possible errors. The prominent danger is that structures could be overlooked. Take, for example, sentence (46) of chapter 6, repeated here as (10):

- (10) Nullo loco castra Volscorum_i
 no place(abl) camp(acc,pl,neutr) of-the-Volschi(gen,pl,masc)
 esse nec commissuros se_i proelio apparuit
 to-be and-not to-join(Inf.Fut.) self(acc)_i battle(dat) it-was-evident
 ‘It was evident that the Volschi_i had no camp anywhere so that there-
 fore they_i did not propose to risk a battle.’

Liv., 4, 59, 2

This construction in which the antecedent is the genitive specifier of the accusative subject was found more or less coincidentally. Benedicto (1991) offered a similar example. I spent a lot of time and work in order to find similar constructions, yet in vain. A corpus which can be used with more flexible tools, for example a tagged corpus or one which could be tagged, would certainly be very helpful for further work.